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The Caribs of the Antilles
(Les Caraïbes des Antilles)

by

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/Title page/

THE CARIBS OF THE ANTILLES

Their Present-Day Representatives on the island of Dominica

/127/ In the course of a recent voyage to the Antilles, on board the yacht Resolute, I had the good fortune to meet a few survivors of the Indians who inhabited part of these islands at the time of the arrival of Europeans in the New World. /These were/ the Caribs, (1)

1. One says either Caraibe or Carib.

of whom a hundred of pure stock still exist, relegated to a corner of Dominica. I must first of all thank M. Pierre Lebaudy for the alacrity with which he agreed to undertake the expedition which permitted us to reach the Carib territory. In addition, we found an invaluable aid in the person of the Governor of the island and a most sympathetic reception on the part of the English colony, particularly the engineer Mr. Noble, who procured horses and porters for us, and carried his kindness so far as to accompany us on our trip and serve as our guide.

Before summing up the observations I was able to make in the course of the trip, I believe it would perhaps be useful to recall in a few words who the Caribs of the Antilles were and what is known of their origin and their migrations.

When Christopher Columbus discovered the Lesser Antilles, he found them inhabited by Carib Indians, intrepid sailors, adept fishermen, proud, admitting no domination and justly feared by their neighbors, since they had the reputation of devouring their enemies after having killed them. (2) This population made a striking con-

2. It would be from the word canibi, one of the names given the Caribs, that the term "cannibal" comes.

trast then with the peaceful Indian peoples who inhabited the large islands and who were /128/ Arawaks, or more exactly Tainos, the latter term having been reserved for the Arawaks who had emigrated to the Antilles. Indeed, the Arawaks according to present ethnographic data, were not the first inhabitants of these islands; they had supplanted there a more ancient race, about whom we have no information as yet. The Arawaks, who probably came from /130/ South

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1. Map of Dominica

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2. Orography of Dominica according to a Marine Map

[8] America, notably from Venezuela, had at first overrun the Lesser Antilles which were nearest the mainland: Trinidad, Tabago, and the other Leeward Islands; Grenada, St. Vincent, Ste. Lucie, Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and the whole Lesser Antillean Archipelago, and finally the Greater Antilles: Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica and Cuba.

[74] Some say two centuries, (1) others say only two generations be-

[13] 1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and The Peoples of the Earth/. Paris, 1900.

fore the discovery of America, the Caribs had already, in all the Lesser Antilles, replaced the Tainos who inhabited them before; they had even begun to contest with them the eastern part of Puerto Rico and sometimes launched naval expeditions against them as far as the coast of Santo Domingo.

Where did these Caribs come from? Historians have expressed completely contradictory hypotheses on this subject. According to Rochefort, (2) Father Labat (3) and others, they appear to have come

[13] 2. Rochefort (C. de), Histoire Naturelle et morale des isles Antilles de l'Amérique /Natural and Moral History of the Islands of the Antilles of America/. in-4, Rotterdam, 1658.

3. Labat (J.-B.), Nouveau Voyage aux isles de l'Amérique /New Voyage to the Islands of America/. in-12, Nouvelle Edition, Paris, 1742.

from the Appalachee country of the Florida Peninsula and to have reached the southern tip of this peninsula. They then crossed in their canoes the arm of the sea which separated them from the Bahamas, which they invaded one after the other, spreading out as they took their way from north to south through all the small islands of the Antillean archipelago. From there, they appear to have even crossed to South America, notably to the Guianas and Brazil, penetrating deeply into the interior of these countries. Father Dutertre (4) and

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4. Duterte (R. -P.), Histoire Générale des Antilles /General History of the Antilles/. Paris, 1658.

several other historians have set forth an opinion diametrically opposed to this. According to them, the Caribs of the Antilles came, on the contrary, from the Guianas, since they have heard the Indians themselves say that they were descended from the Galibis, who still inhabit these regions today. This is in harmony with the theory generally adopted by modern linguists, according to whom the origin of the Carib race, in its widest sense, would be found at a point in the center of Brazil, situated possibly to the north, possibly to the south, of the Amazon. It is from this point that the Caribs appear to have migrated to Guiana, whence they betook themselves to the Lesser Antilles, following almost the /131/ same route as their Arawak predecessors. This latter theory is today held by the most informed anthropologists and we shall see later that it is in part confirmed by the linguistic observations we have been able to make.

Wherever they came from the Caribs, (according to the most reliable writers), appear as they overran the islands to have massacred all the men and spared the women whom they made their wives or their slaves. These women were of the Arawak race and spoke a different language from that of the Caribs. An interesting fact, and one which is recounted by most travellers, is that this Arawak language perpetuated itself among the women from mother to daughter, while the men spoke Carib from father to son, the members of both sexes understanding, besides the two languages, but speaking only that which was proper to its own sex. Father Labat, after having related these facts, adds that there existed among the Caribs still a third language belonging to the warriors, but this third language is not mentioned in any other place. The duality of language, whose origin we have just shown, has been recorded at different times and was perpetuated for more than five centuries among the Caribs of the Antilles; even today there remain traces of it among the last members of this race whose present vocabulary still contains some Arawak words.

When Columbus landed in the Lesser Antilles, at Guadeloupe, at the time of his second voyage, in 1493, and in the other islands during his later voyages, he was always greeted with arrows by the Caribs; the Spanish also, who remembered these islanders unfavorably,

[75] the more so as they had seen human remains in their habitations and who furthermore did not find in these latitudes the gold they sought, did not waste time in abandoning the conquest of these islands. The French, the English, and the Dutch, who came to establish themselves in the Caribbean islands a century and a half later, ran a foul of the same hostility on the part of their inhabitants, but nevertheless, according to Father Duterte, the Carib, at the time of the arrival of the Europeans was "the most content, the happiest, the least vicious, the most sociable, the most genuine race, and the race least harassed by disease of all /132/ the nations of the world." When the French and the English came to connect their islands, the Caribs withdrew saying to them, "The land from which you come must be very poor or you must have very little of it if you look for more at such a distance and at the risk of such dangers."

At this time the Caribs occupied all the Leeward Islands, their domain extending from Tabago to Puerto Rico, and Guadeloupe was their stronghold. Their pride and the independence of their character made them live continually at war with the invaders, and they never consented to submit, preferring death to slavery. The earliest European colonists, since they could not subdue them, had to resort to black labor, and when the slave trade was organized, the blacks multiplied rapidly, while the natives became more and more scarce. In order to avoid perpetual quarrels, France and England concluded a treaty in 1660 in which it was agreed that the Caribs would be relegated to the two islands of Dominica and St. Vincent, where they would be left in peace; their number did not then exceed 6, 000. Nevertheless some isolated Caribs still lived on other islands, notably Guadeloupe, on the east coast, where a group of five or six families lived, and Martinique, also on the east coast, at Rose Point, where one family still lived in 1694.

When Father Labat, in 1700, proceeding from Martinique to Guadeloupe, was obliged to put into port at Dominica, which was then a French possession, he found the island inhabited almost exclusively by Caribs, but the latter were no longer very numerous, and there were hardly 2, 000 of them, of which two-thirds were women or children. He took advantage of this stop-over of one week to penetrate to the interior of the island and lived for some time among the natives, of whom he has left us a very detailed description. The appearance of Dominica indeed has changed little since the time of Father Labat, and when he says that he traversed its whole width

[115] "without finding anything besides forests and three or four small clearings full of banana trees" and saw there "the most beautiful trees in the world," he seems to describe it as it is today.

As for the several thousand Caribs who existed in St. Vincent in 1735, they mixed rapidly with the /133/ blacks, whence the name "black Caribs" or Caraibes noirs by which they are known. They were banished for the most part by the English, in 1795 and 1796, to the island of Ruatan and to Trujillo, on the northern coast of Honduras, where they have remained. In the course of the 18th and 19th centuries, the islands of St. Vincent and Dominica were also invaded by European colonists and by blacks who were becoming more and more numerous, so that the Caribs disappeared from there almost completely: there still existed 192 of them, more or less mixed with black blood, in St. Vincent, in 1881, but there are none today. In Dominica, their fate threatened to be the same if the English authorities, always /134/ foresighted, had not established a reservation on the island where the last representatives of a race on the point of dying out live in peace, in the very environment in which it existed at the time of the conquest.

[131] The territory reserved for the Caribs is situated on the eastern shore of the island. In order to reach it from Roseau, the principal port, situated in the southwest, where we were anchored, it was necessary to cross the entire width of the island, following paths which were most uneven and impassable as far as carriages were concerned. We traversed on horseback the 24 kilometers which separated Roseau from the village of Rosalie, and then had to go up the eastern shore from south to north, for about 17 kilometers, passing Castle Bruce, in order to reach the southern tip of the Carib territory, which is called the "Carib district" or the "Carib reservation" by the English. This district is bounded on the north by a curved line in the form of a prolonged S stretched in a general north-east-south-west direction, cut in half by the 15° 30' line North Latitude; on the west by the path of the Two Branch river, from which the boundary line extends for some distance to form with it a rectangle which does not belong to the Caribs; on the south, by a straight line, in a general west-east direction, slanting a little to the south, to the Rayward River, whose course it follows to its mouth; finally, on the east by the Atlantic. This territory has an area of 3700 acres, that is, 1497 hectares 39 [133] areas, or in round numbers, 1500 hectares; it is very uneven and high mountains surround narrow ravines, where spring water trickles.

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3. Map of the Carib Territory

mountains surround narrow ravines, where spring water trickles. The country is almost entirely wooded; it is virgin forest in all its vigor, and the most varied species grow there side by side; the imposing silk-cotton tree, Eriodendron anfractuosum, the large-leaved chestnut tree, Sloanea massoni, the logwood tree, Haematoxylon campecheanum, the mahogany tree, Swietenia mahogany, the anarta-tree, Bixa orellana mingle with palms of all sorts, gigantic bamboos and a multitude of arborescent ferns. All these trees are interlaced with endless lianas, and in their midst, giant like, rise splendid gum-trees, Dacryodes hexandra, from whose trunks one can cut an entire canoe. The district is crossed, at some distance from the coast, by a road which is well-defined but not practicable for carriages, which is part of the road which makes a complete circuit of the island. In the part which crosses the Carib territory, one /135/ finds a few paved sections, which date from the French occupation. The climate is humid and it rains frequently, even during the dry season. The temperature varies between 25° and 32° C., but the ocean breeze moderates the heat at all times and in the mountains there is always a certain freshness.

This part of Dominica is today inhabited by about a hundred Caribs of pure stock and about 400 mestizos, who have some black blood.

The Carib is of medium height, but has fine muscles and is strong; the women are noticeably smaller than the men. Their eyes are black, comparatively small and somewhat set back, the cheek-bones prominent, the teeth white and well-set, the hair black, straight, shiny, quite long, but generally cut amongst the men; the latter are usually beardless, although some have, nevertheless, a short moustache. The skin is quite light or tends to be somewhat brown, but it is no darker than that of Europeans who live in the open in regions where the sun is very hot. Formerly the Caribs were completely naked and it was their custom to completely stain their bodies red with roucou (1) diluted /136/ with carapat oil, which protected them against insect bites,

1. Roucou or rocou, from the word urucu used by the natives of Brazil, is the word for the grains of the roucou tree, from which they extract a red dye. The roucou tree, a shrub of 4 to 5 meters in height, is very common in the Antilles.

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4. Carib woman of Dominica (face)

5. Carib woman of Dominica (profile)

241 against insect bites, but which gave them the appearance, as many
[384] travellers reported, of a bottled crayfish. Later their dress consisted,
for both sexes, of a cord passed around the body, holding a loin-cloth
smaller than a pocket-handkerchief. The men and the young boys
[442] always wore a sharpened knife between the cord and the thigh. Today
the surviving Caribs lack picturesqueness; in contact with the white
[177] and black creoles, they have taken over their clothing. The men
wear trousers and a shirt; the women wear a long dress of a light color,
similar to those in which the negresses dress. Like the latter, their
heads are covered with a madras kerchief. Only the children of both
sexes go about clothed in a short shirt or completely naked. Former-
[304] ly it was the custom, shortly after birth, to deform their heads by
flattening the skulls by means of a small board.

301 The Carib women do not actually seem very coquettish, and
wear few ornaments, though at the time when the roucou was their
only piece of clothing, they did not neglect ornaments; they adorned
themselves with necklaces, and bracelets, and at adolescence they
wove for themselves a kind of legging which they wore around the leg
between the calf and the ankle, and which they never took off. Even
the men adorned themselves, on important occasions, with metal
ornaments called caracoli, which they wore in their ears, nostrils,
lower lips, and on the chest, not to speak of the black stripes which
they sometimes painted on their faces and bodies or the multicolored
plumes with which they adorned themselves.

157 The Caribs are not very expansive and melancholy is the basis
of their character; their faces bear the mark of sadness and disdain.
They are vindictive, and never forget their injuries, and are partic-
ularly formidable when they are under the influence of alcoholic
[273] drinks (1), for which they have a great weakness. Cherishing their

1. Before the Europeans brought alcohol to them, they made themselves a fermented beverage, called ouycou.

independence above all, servitude is distasteful to them and they do
not wish to lose their liberty at any price. /137/ Merciless toward
their enemies, they are kind and generous to their friends and are
462 very cordial in the exercise of hospitality. Of an unconcerned dis-
position, the men spend entire days in doing nothing, asleep in their

hammocks or smoking, crouched around their huts and appearing to meditate; they rarely speak and let their wives take care of all the work. Formerly they demanded absolute submission from them and did not permit them to take their meals with them. In the course of our trip, while we were passing in front of a Carib hut, we saw a young and strong man walking about calmly, surrounded by four children, the youngest of which was in his arms, while the women of the house busied themselves outside with the hardest work.

The Carib dwellings are rectangular huts more or less raised above the ground, with walls made of mixed straw of bamboo or some other wood and covered with palm leaves; sometimes they have over hangs as shelter against the sun. These huts differ little from what they were formerly, according to descriptions of them which the first observers left us, and at that time they called a group of huts a carbet(2).

2. This term has perpetuated itself in the French Antilles and in Martinique one still finds the village of Carbet and the peak of Carbet which dominates this settlement.

of which one was most important, in which an entire family lived. The house of the present Carib chief is of a more elaborate design, and the roof is of wood instead of thatch; inside it consists of four rooms, each containing a bed and chairs.

Personal property is usually simpler and consists of "hammocks," a word of Carib origin used in most European languages. The hammocks are made by the women out of cotton cultivated near the hut; they are braided and not woven, and existed even at the time of the conquest. They were dyed red with roucou, and according to Father Labat, there were some larger than others, called marriage hammocks, braided by mothers for their daughters when they were married, but in which two people never slept together. The household utensils are gourds of different sizes, vases of baked earth and skillfully woven baskets. The Carib basket serves the natives as chest and cupboard; /138/ it is made with the greatest care of reeds painted in different colors, and is so well constructed that water cannot pass through, and the cover of the basket fits the bottom so well that the heaviest rains cannot dampen the contents. Its shape is that of a rectangular parallelepiped twice as long as it is wide. It is very light, and the

415 blacks and European creoles still use it today, not only in Dominica,
285 but also in Guadeloupe and in Martinique. The Caribs, as a matter
[439] of fact, make these baskets not only for their own use, but they also sell them in order to obtain articles which they need, knives, hatchets, pieces of cloth, alcohol, etc. The Caribs formerly used the matatou, a kind of square coverless basket, supported by four feet, and the
[442] [445] catoli, a kind of hod used by the women to carry potatoes, bananas, fish, and other food products to the hut.

263 The diet of the Caribs is however not complex; it is almost ex-
824 clusively vegetable, and is supplemented from time to time by a few crabs or by fish. The plants they eat are cultivated by them or are gathered in the forest. The most important are the yam, Dioscorea sativa, the sweet potato, Convolvulus batatas, the Caribbean cabbage, Colocasia esculenta or Xanthosoma sagittaefolia, and finally the cassava, Manihot dulcis and Manihot edulis, from whose roots they extract farina with the aid of a very primitive press and which is used by them in making the cassava, a kind of baked pancake which formerly took the place of bread in all the Antilles. The trees which supply them with fruits are numerous: these are the mango-trees, the guava-trees, the coco-nut trees, the banana trees, and the famous bread-fruit tree, Artocarpus (1) incisa, imported from Asia and Polynesia but

1. From ἄρτος, bread and καρπός, fruit.

long since acclimated in the Antilles. The forest supplies them with
[439] another article of exchange, a tree, (called the "Bay tree" by the English) whose leaves they gather, which are taken to Roseau and thence sent to Europe or the United States, where an essence is extracted for use in perfume-making.

262 Meat is an unimportant part of their diet and the few animals
[23] [439] they raise; pigs of Spanish or /139/ French origin, and domestic poultry, hens and ducks serve more as articles of exchange than as
266 food. Even formerly when they did not object to human flesh, it seems that they used it only rarely; when following a war they had massacred a large number of enemies, they thought it only fitting to eat them. Furthermore, Father Labat is full of indulgence towards them on this point, and although they had once offered him the smoked arm of an Englishman, probably the remains of a feast, he finds it hard to apply to them the epithet of cannibals.

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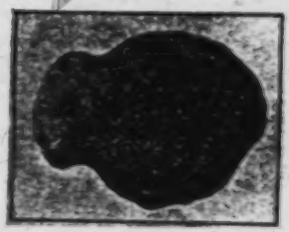

6. Stone hatchet attributed to the Caribs

224 If fish forms such a large part of the diet of the Caribs, it is because boating and fishing have always been a favorite occupation for
396 them. The canoes which they still use today are hollowed out from the trunks of large trees, particularly the gum-tree, the giant of the forest. The word canoe is, moreover, like the word hammock, a word of Carib origin, imported into Europe by the Spanish. These
502 boats are today used only for fishing, but formerly the Caribs—who
805 are excellent seamen and even have, according to certain writers,
821 some notion of the stars and know how to calculate time and the seasons—ventured quite far out to sea and went easily from one
481 island to another. They were, besides, admirable swimmers, righting their canoes when they capsized, while the women kept afloat in the water, carrying their children at their breasts.

411 Their weapons for hunting and war were formerly bows and arrows, with tips carved from fish bones or tortoise-shell and often poisoned with the juice of certain plants. Of an unequalled skill from childhood in handling bows and arrows, the Caribs quickly became as adept at using guns when they were given them. The club, called bouton or boutou was also a powerful weapon in their hands. It was often carved and the hatchings were painted in various colors. As for the war hatchets of polished stone, found in the excavations on Dominica /140/ and other islands, they seem rather to have belonged to the Tainos than to the Carib (1). These hatchets bear a

1. Beuchat (H.) Manuel d'archeologie americaine /Manual of American Archeology/. Paris, 1912.

great resemblance to those found in the Guianas and in northern Brazil; there is a fine collection of them in the Museum of Roseau.

532 The arts seem to have been very little developed among the
212 Caribs of the Antilles, but some crude drawings or petroglyphs found on the rocks in the islands which they inhabited have been attributed to them, particularly in the vicinity of the town of Trois Rivieres, in Guadeloupe, and in the island of St. John.

515 Of naturally cleanly habits the Caribs bathed every day in the sea or in the rivers before staining their bodies with roucou. They have retained the habit of taking frequent baths and this hygienic
1044 care has protected them from a great number of illnesses; yaws, which is very common among the blacks of the Antilles, is rare in the Carib population.

642 The original Caribs acknowledged no form of government, and all were equal; thus, doubtless through atavism, they do not have all the respect they should for the native chief whom British authority
643 gave them, while leaving them their autonomy. Our first visit was to this chief, whom locally they call the king of the Caribs. In examining the first page of the Carib Reserve Dominica Land Register, one finds: No. 1 Corriette Jules Benjamin, Carib Chief; born 1853; Father: Benjamin Jules; Mother: Marie Ann Fanchine; /No children/ Corriette is a man who looks younger than the date of his birth would indicate; he is typical of his race and has gray moustaches; he is unfortunately dressed in European clothes, which deprives him of (ce qui lui enleve tout cachet) any style. This chief has not set a good example of conservation of the race in marrying a black woman by whom he has moreover had no children. He has adopted a young black mestizo Carib, who lives under his roof together with his elder sister.

217 The Carib chief keeps several registers in English which he
692 allowed us to consult at leisure. One of these registers is the Register of Justice, where all misdemeanors are entered. In simple cases the chief gives judgment himself; here is an example: "The /141/ 8th of March 1914, Annesty Lochat came to tell me that Meamie Alenas had opened the door of her house and had stolen a drinking glass and I settled the matter." In more serious cases, the chief refers them to British courts, as witness the following case: "The 4th of December 1912, Tewar presented himself to me, and told me that Bay Bay had killed his pig in his yard, although the animal had done no harm and without Bay Bay having warned him. I could not settle the controversy; I therefore sent them both before the magistrate." According
[674] to the ancient writers, the Caribs were trusting and hospitable and their houses stood always open; they did not know theft until the arrival of the Europeans, and when they missed something, they said that "the Christians had come to their houses." One can see from what has been said that they put themselves on a level with their
217 conquerors. A Register of the Civil State (1) is also kept. The

1. This register mentions not only the Caribs of pure stock, but also mestizos; it therefore is concerned with the entire present population of the Carib territory.

The register of births includes, from the first of January, 1917, to March, 1920, 70 births, of which only 38 are legitimate, with an equal number of children of each sex. The register of deaths mentions in the same lapse of time 48 deaths, caused by the following illnesses, whose diagnosis is perhaps slightly capricious.

Dysentery	15	Disorders of the heart	1
Fever	13	" of the blood	1
Pleurisy	4	Accidents	3
Sunstroke	2	Stillborn or dead	
Bronchitis	1	shortly after birth	8

These deaths are distributed as follows according to age:

	Masculine	Feminine		Masculine	Feminine
Up to 3	14	11	From 15 to 50	12	3
From 3 to 15	2	3	Over 50	0	3

The three women who died above the age of fifty were respectively 80, 87, and 89 years old, and in examining the last figures in the chart one notes that longevity is greater in the feminine sex than in the masculine.

/142/ Incestuous marriages are still frequent; they were the rule formerly; "fathers," according to Father Dutertre, "married their daughters, mothers, their sons, and the same man married two sisters or the mother and the daughter. Women married at the age of seventeen or eighteen, but they are nubile younger and often have children before this age. Formerly polygamy was general and the Caribs had as many as seven wives, not counting those whom they married on each island where they went often. Now that the Caribs profess, at least nominally, the Catholic faith, a man has only one legitimate wife; it is true that he adds as many concubines as his fortune permits him to have. Children are generally numerous; there are 8 or 9 on the average and up to 14; the number of stillbirths and the infant mortality is 11.4 per 100.

Religious ideas, according to all the ancient travellers, were very little developed among the Caribs of the Antilles and consisted simply of a vague belief in a good and an evil principle, which they called manitou, but they had no word to denote God or a superior Spirit.

000 Spirit. The missionaries exhausted themselves in vain in the 17th
797 century in trying to inculcate in them the principles of Christianity and several were massacred on the island of St. Vincent, so that by the beginning of the 18th century they had given up converting them. The Caribs sometimes let themselves be baptized because for them it was an occasion for celebration and drinking, in addition to which the governors or the principal inhabitants of the French islands took pleasure in serving as their godparents and showered them with gifts; but hardly had they reached home then they forgot all the instruction they had received. "The reason for the small success of the missionaries in the conversion of the Caribs," says Father Dutertre, "is the unfortunate impression which the life of the Christians had made on them, strewn with cruelty and exhibiting habits more barbaric than
771 those of the islanders." Today the remaining Caribs are Catholics, like most of the blacks of Dominica and their chief has even placed a portrait of the Pope in a conspicuous place in his house. French
[793] priests serve as their pastors and there existed at Salybia, the principal
[374] settlement of the territory, a little church which was blown down by a cyclone and which they are engaged in /143/ rebuilding. Next to it is the only school in the region, attended by young Caribs and young mestizos of both sexes.

191 The Caribs of Dominica are truly polyglot; they speak the French patois with the blacks, which is the same in this island as in Guadeloupe and Martinique; they know a few English words which they use in their relations with officials or various merchants; finally, among themselves, they still make use of a certain number of words of their ancestral language, a language which includes, as we have already seen, two idioms, one spoken by the men, the other by the women.

115 One of my colleagues, born and long since settled in Dominica but of a French family and having pursued his medical studies in France, Dr. Daniel Thally was kind enough to give me a Carib vocabulary which he collected in 1916 and 1918 from an old native woman, the daughter of Jean-Baptiste and Marie-Louise, named
197 Rosalie who was between 75 and 80 years old. This vocabulary,
192 carefully studied on my return to France with the learned collaboration of Dr. Rivet, allowed us to recover from it some words of the Carib vocabulary of the Antilles as it was in the time of /145/ Father Breton (1), who has left us a grammar and a dictionary of this

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7. J. B. Corriette, Chief of the Carib District

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8. Half-breed woman - Black Carib

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Neveu-Lemaire

Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabulary of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Soleil	Sun	wayóu	huéyu	ve'ou
Lune	Moon	nounou	nonum	nouna, nouno
Éloile	Star	youra		
Eau, rivière	Water, river	túna	tóne	touna
Pluie	Rain	hóuya	oya F	hóuya ••
Vent	Wind	kabáli	calabáli	kabáli ••
Père	Father	noukousóuli	noucóuchili F	
Femme	Woman	hinaróu	inharou F	hinaróu ••
Enfant	Child	birahóu	iráheu F	
Carafbe	Carib	kaifuna		
Nègre	Negro	mikerou	méguerou F	
Chien	Dog	aouli	àuli	
Chat	Cat	mésou	mechou	mecho
Cochon	Pig	bourouho	botlirocou	bouiroucou
Chèvre	Goat	kabára •	cabrara	

Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica (cont'd)

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabulary of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Lapin ?	Rabbit?	maseráka	máuchalaca	
Agouti	Agouti	pícari	pícouli	
Poule	Hen	cayaióu	cáyou F	
Pigeon ramier	Wood Pigeon	bakoukrá	oüacoùcoüa	
Lézard	Lizard	nourouma		
"	"	hináwe		
" (diable)	" (Devil)	mafuiyá		
Tortue marine	Marine tortoise	kataróu	catàllou	kataróu
Serpent	Snake	héwe	héhue	
Crapaud	Toad	ú a	hoúa	
Poisson	Fish	útu	aoto	oto
Requin	Shark	waïbárăwă		
Ecrevisse	Crayfish	isóurou		
Petit crabe des jardins	Paud crab		itóurourou	
Crabe	Crab	waráiba	oüaléiba F	
"	"	batchou		

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Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica (cont'd)

French words (English Equivalents)	Vocabulary of Dominica		Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Chou caraïbe	Carib cabbage	kwai	oüáhen F	
Igname	Yam	kapláoũ		
Patate douce	Sweet potato	mãmbi	mabi	mapi
Banane	Banana	barirou	balóulou	
"	"	bãkoũkoũ		baccóucou
Canot	Canoe	koũnoũ	canáoa	canoa, canaoua
Massue	Club	bóutou	iboútoulou	bóutou
Sabre, épée	Saber, sword	soubãrã	echoubàra	soubara
Danse	Dance	bináha	abinacáni	
Mort	Death	ilaháli		
Il est mort	He is dead		hilàali F	
Bonjour	Hello	mambuika	maboũica	
Tu es venu	You have come			mboui
Allons-nous-en	Let's go away	kaima waibouka		
Allons vite	Let's hurry	caimanco		
Allons	Let's go			kama
J'ai froid	I am cold	ham héli		

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10:Neveu-Lemaire-13eK-5 (ca. 1920) 1921 ST13 Callinago ST13

Carib vocabulary collected in Dominica (cont'd)

French words (English Equivalents)		Vocabulary of Dominica	Vocabulary of the Caribs of the Antilles, according to Father Breton	Galibi & Arawak
Froid	Cold		a moyénli	
Terme injurieux	Insult	ūmānĭsĭkóu		

F indicates the words belong to the feminine language, probably of Arawak origin.
• from cabra, a word of Spanish origin.
•• these words are Arawak and not Galibi.

[113]

1. Breton (R.), Dictionaire caraïbe-français /Carib-French Dictionary/. Auxerre, 1665, reprinted by J. Platzmann, Leipzig, 1892. Dictionaire français-caraïbe /French-Carib Dictionary/. Auxerre, 1666, reprinted by J. Platzmann, Leipzig, 1900.

192 language, dating from 1665 and 1666, and in addition, Arawak and
197 Galibi words, as one can see in glancing at the chart. (p. 14a)

This vocabulary is interesting from several points of view. First of all, it shows us the actual existence of a duality of language in the Carib population of the Antilles, a duality which continues in our time; indeed, we find several words from the feminine language of Arawak origin, the word hinarǒu, for instance, which means woman, as well as the words kabáli which signifies wind and hóuya which means rain. Beside these terms of incontestable Arawak origin, there exist a certain number, mentioned in the Dictionary of Father Breton as being part of the language of the women, and which probably have the same origin; such words as: noukousǒuli or noucǒuchili, father; birahǒu or niraheu, child; mǐkerou or meguerou, negro; cayaiǒu or cǎyou, hen; waráïba or oũaĭčiba (1), crab; kwai or oũáheu,

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1. In the Carib language, the following consonants are frequently used one for the other: l and r
p, c and g
d and f
g and s
and thus certain writers have made caraïbe or caribe derive from Galibi, via such words as caribo, calibo, galibo.

Carib cabbage; ilahali or hilaali, death.

The present-day vocabulary of Dominica shows us, furthermore, that there existed in the Carib language of the Antilles many words of Galibi origin; thus weyǒu, sun, is vefou in Galibi; nounou, moon, is nouna or nouno; tǔna or touna means water in both languages; ǔru, fish, is oto in Galibi; katarǒu denotes the marine tortoise in one of the other language; bourouhǒ, pig, is bouirǒucou in Galibi; mésou, cat, is mecho; bǎkoĭkoĭ or baccoucou means banana in Carib as in

192 Galibi; mämbi, sweet potato, is mapi in Galibi; bóutou, club, and
197 soubara, sword are the same in the two languages; koũnoũ, canoe, is canoa or canaoua in Galibi. The family links between the Galibis of the Guianas and the Carib of the Antilles are thus evident.

144 /146/ What will become of the few surviving Caribs of Dominica in the more or less distant future? The race seems to me fated to disappear shortly, not by extinction, for there is no reason why this prolific population, living in the same environment in which it has lived for centuries, should die out one day, but by intermarriage with the black race, which is much more numerous than itself and which constantly gains ground. Today already, of the five hundred individuals who inhabit the Carib territory, there are no more than a hundred of pure stock, and soon, as has been seen on the island of St. Vincent, one will probably find only mestizos or black Caribs and the last representatives of this race proud and indomitable, enterprising and warlike, sturdy though indolent, sometimes cruel, but always hospitable, will have disappeared forever from the surface of the globe.

M. Neveu-Lemaire